794
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[Information on the Capitan and Síndico as representatives of the church in the council and community affairs will be found in category 624.]

/110 cont./

609 parts of the Mass, as they have understood it, in an exaggeratedly
522 dramatic fashion. The priest has a difficult office in any case.
797 They do not understand his sermons and teachings in the church,
157 conducted in the Spanish language. If he speaks their own language, his inevitable mistakes are commented upon amid loud laughter.

123 On our first visit to Calderas, a man about 30 years old met us at the boundary of the village and asked us in a gruff tone whether we did not know that this land was only for the Paez. No white man had any business here. We should turn back, for no one wanted our visit. Marcos Antonio intervened and explained that we had only come to bring gifts to the Calderun and that we had no intention of settling down in Calderas. We would surely leave again the next day. The man let this pass and warned us upon departure not to dare try to steal any land.

[223] Even later we never obtained permission from the cabildo, the village council, to remain in the village more than a week at a time. Our reputation among the younger people of the village improved from week to week, on the one hand because we offered a cigarette to each man and each woman with whom we had an opportunity to talk, but even more because -- as we were told later -- we were friendly to everyone and always /111/ laughed.

[648] As a matter of fact, it would never occur to any of the white or mixed-colored colonists to favor a Calderun even with a glance. On the contrary, in the houses lying along the road, the dogs are trained to attack the Indios. True, these dogs are all undernourished and generally very cowardly. The Paez man need only raise his machete or a club in order to ward off the dog. We were the first whites who did something completely out of the ordinary in that we were always friendly, without any mental reservations, and always greeted them first, in their language. And this not only in Calderas, but also in Inzá and on the roads to the market. This friendliness was taken in good part on all sides. Then later, after we were able to show and to give them the first photographs of themselves, they were definitely pleased to be photographed and now and then offered us an egg or a bowl of chicha /see the glossary, p. 248/ when we photographed them.

/170 cont./

491 Rather, these constructions seem to be a borrowing from the
177 Negro slaves who were brought into the region around Belalcázar
499 in very early times in order to work the gold and salt mines there. Both bridges would then be an African culture element in the Tierradentro region. They are suitable only for people. Larger animals are pulled through the river with ropes and must swim part of the way.

499 The two groups of posts on each bank -- a very modern method of bridge anchorage -- upon which the arch of the bridge hangs, are supported by a number of stakes driven into the ground farther up the bank. Bamboo poles serve as joining and holding material. The footway held from above is made with split bamboo, pounded flat. Additional bamboo tubes, secured by
[476] lianas, form the railing. For the construction of such an arched bridge the inhabitants from the adjacent villages along both shores come together. They bury the ends of two long and strong bamboo tubes in the ground, so that their tips lean
● [623] slightly toward the river. Then the gobernadores /see the glossary, p. 249/, as the heads of the town councils at the time, start climbing up the poles, which, as a result of the weight, lean toward the center of the river, until the poles touch and the two gobernadores can shake hands from either side. With one hand they then quickly tie the joined tips of the bamboo poles together by means of lianas, which is the first step in the bridge construction. It is completed by the rest of the people (from Hernandez, 1944, p. 190).

/171/

## III. Society

### 1. Political Organization

619 The tribe of the Paez consists of the inhabitants of a number of villages of the Tierradentro region who regard themselves as belonging together because of language, clothing, habits, and
621 traditions. Their present-day political organization is based on the village community. It corresponds roughly to the original

/171 cont./

621 tribal organization. Even at the time of the Conquista the Paez
[622] did not form a common, cohesive community and were similarly independent from village to village and without a chief,
[623] just as today. Only in times of war did a few villages join together
[648] in a sort of loose federation, in order to be able to offer stronger resistance to the Spanish intruders. Afterwards, however, the
177 "alliance for convenience" dissolved. The political influence
361 of the Spaniards during the colonial period had the effect of
131 fixing the boundaries of the villages that had existed up to that time, each of which occupies the area of a valley basin, in order to create clear relationships with respect to the white landowners. The former arrangement of the villages was essentially the same, as one may see from the large number of old native names.

621 The control of the community at that time -- in keeping with
622 the character of the Paez -- was probably in a democratic village management, in a fashion similar to that of today. In times of war leadership was in the hands of men who were called caciques /see "Kazike" in the glossary, p. 249/ by the Spaniards -- as was the case generally in their colonies. The Paez have also taken over this name as a rank designation for the heroes of their traditions. Actually, their own word "sāt" for the political leaders in their mythology corresponds more to a war leader with shamanistic abilities than to a regular hereditary chieftainship of a society organized by classes, such as we find among the tribes of the Cauca Valley or the sacred principalities of the Chibcha at the time of the Conquista.

621 The present-day composition of the village council (cabildo)
623 as the administrative head of each village varies in strength according to the size of the village. It seems to be the most nearly complete in Calderas. Its composition and its tasks show
[565] that it is the head of a democratic community. The village is
[626] not organized by classes or by occupations. The consciousness of the equality of all is so strong /172/ that outsiders who distinguish themselves from others through personal achievement or personal acquisition are brought down to the common level by
623 force or killed. The leader of the cabildo has the grand Spanish

/172 cont./

623 title of gobernador. In Paez this corresponds to the designation tõtens. At his side, in Calderas, stands the gobernador suplente as his representative; other functionaries are the alcalde /see the glossary, p. 248 / (in Paez ka'nas), of whom there are two in Calderas, the alcalde mayor and the alcalde menor, furthermore two fiscales, three comisarios, and one comisario escolar, as well as an alguacil. The composition of the cabildo in Santa Rosa is the following: a gobernador, an alcalde, a fiscal, a comisario escolar, and an alguacil. In Lame there are a gobernador, a gobernador suplente, two fiscales, one comisario, and one alguacil. The cabildo in Togoima consists of the gobernador, the gobernador suplente, two alcaldes, two fiscales, three comisarios, one comisario escolar, and one alguacil. Aside from the double and triple occupancies, the composition of the cabildo is the same in the four villages. It should be noted that there are Paez words only for the gobernador and the alcalde; Spanish designations are used for the rest of the functionaries.

623 554 The authority of the gobernador as the leader of the village rests more on his personal prestige than on official means of power. He must therefore be very cautious with his regulations and instructions. He has the collectively conceived decisions of the village council carried out with respect to road or bridge building or the repair of the church, the school, or the community house. While his regulations remain within the scope of what the great majority of the village also regards as good, the collectivity exerts strong pressure on those who stand apart. In flagrant instances of apartness, however, he has quite drastic measures at his disposal, which, though they are today no longer as strictly wielded as formerly, can nevertheless be very effective in the hands of an energetic gobernador. It is taken for granted, however, that the gobernador acts neither unjustly nor arbitrarily, sets a good example in all undertakings, and is active first and last in the communal work. How little the gobernador is in a position to issue arbitrary orders within his village may be illustrated by the following example: One Saturday the gobernador

[626] 123 623 554

/172 cont./

123 of Calderas came from the weekly market in Inzá and visited
623 me in San Andrés. When in the course of the conversation I
554 mentioned that I would be coming to Calderas on the following
Monday, he suggested that I arrive there early. He said that
he already knew that I was interested in everything concerning
[476] his village and on Monday /173/ I could be present at a com-
munity project for all the men of the village in clearing a field.
Since my interpreter was not free until Monday, I could not set
out on Sunday in order to be present in time for the field work
on Monday. I begged him to postpone the communal project
for a day or two. That would be impossible, he replied, since
this work had been decided upon for Monday by the cabildo and
123 he was not in a position to change the date independently. I
623 offered him as a gift a very handsome travel-machete with a
554 sheath, in case he might be in a position to postpone the work.
411 Generally the Paez own only the heavy, broad work-machete for
felling trees, which they can drag along with them on the way to
[435] market only with difficulty. As a weapon for traveling, therefore,
the lighter, chrome-plated machetes are greatly coveted, but
on account of their high price of 12 pesos no Calderun has here-
123 tofore been able to afford one. I had put this gift aside for the
623 gobernador some time before, but had never found the proper
554 reason for presenting it. This time the occasion seemed very
favorable and really worthwhile. The gobernador, although he was
extremely anxious to be the first Calderun to possess the imple-
ment, explained that my request could not be fulfilled, since
all the men had already been notified for Monday. I pointed out
that he surely had enough messengers to inform his people that
the work would not take place until a few days later. He could
not make the decision to do this; he kept explaining that in
addition the men would be angry. I proposed to him that I would
treat them, at my expense, to ten pesos' worth of chicha to
placate them, an amount that they had hardly ever had before.
He could not make a decision; he finally said that he would try
and would speak to his people on Sunday, and he hoped, in view
of so much chicha, that he would succeed, but he could not.

/173 cont./

123 promise it. When I arrived in Calderas on Monday I found that
623 the men of the village had not wanted to meet a second time and
554 that they had indeed begun the work.

623 The alcaldes and the alguacil are the messengers of the
[203] cabildo; they notify the people when communal projects are
[696] necessary. Moreover, the alguacil administers corporal punish-
[203] ment. The three comisarios are likewise messengers and help
[794] the gobernador carry out and supervise public projects. It is the duty of the fiscales -- together with the gobernador -- to decorate the church. They provide candles and help the priest. According to C. Cuervo Marquez (Vol. II, p. 183), the fiscales formerly also had the duty of defending the interests of the /174/
871 village against the encroachments of the colonists. The comisario
623 escolar, finally, is responsible for the school attendance of the
[797] children. The mission sisters, as the teachers, turn to him and
[875] he is supposed to get the children to school, by force, if necessary.

It should not remain unmentioned that Calderas -- and ap-
621 parently this village only -- is divided into four parts, each of
623 which occupies roughly a cardinal point and has about 50 houses.
[361] An alcalde, alguacil, fiscal, and comisario are each an equal representative of a quarter in the cabildo. At present the alcalde is the representative of the western region of Yocashí, the alguacil the representative of the northern region of Puélche, the fiscal that of the eastern region of Aépel, and the comisario that of the southern Bishók. I was told that the connection between an office and the representation of a village quarter is arbitrary, depending on where the occupant of the post happens to live. The official position within the cabildo is first assigned, and today it is the more important. Four of them take over the representation of a village quarter each. Thus, the comisario, if he lives there, may be the representative from Yocashí, and the alcalde the representative of Aépel. The present gobernador, for example, was fiscal ten years ago. Since he lives in the village section of Puélche, he was at the same time the representative of this quarter.

/174 cont./

624 In addition to the cabildo, there was introduced in Spanish
[177] colonial times, as the trusted agent of the missions, the post of capitan, who was not subordinate to the secular authorities and often was not democratically elected, but appointed by the church for life. Appointed to this office, if possible, are the members of an old, influential family, in which a son or nephew then succeeds the capitan in office, so that in practice this position was often hereditary within a family. The capitan in Calderas, who died February 18, 1953 and who had held this office for about 20 years, was named Manuel José Guagáz. His predecessor was his father, Bruno Guagáz. And though the gobernador told me that the family of the Guagáz were feeble-minded and no longer fit for any work, he admitted that it was probable that the successor of the old capitan would nevertheless be another Guagáz.

623 The deceased capitan was ill and weak during the last years
624 of his life, and thus it came about that the gobernador played the leading role in the cabildo. The weekly council meetings were also held in his house. According to conditions in other villages, however, the capitan in practice not only presides in the cabildo, but his voice also has somewhat more weight. At least, he is able to prevent a bridge from being built, for example, through his veto. /175/ True, he cannot accomplish it or even order it by himself, against the will of the cabildo.

623 Another functionary, who is likewise appointed by the mis-
651 sions for life, is the síndico, who fixes the ecclesiastical tax assessments and administers the funds.

623 The election of the cabildo takes place every year on the
293 first of December. On the following January first, the elected
[666] cabildo must appear before the administrative authorities of the municipio /see the glossary, p. 249/, where each member is given his staff of office and is sworn in for his duties. The staffs of office (kampo) belong to the village and are handed on from year to year. They are round in diameter, about 80 to 100 centimeters long and three to five centimeters thick, and carved out of the black, hard wood of the chonta palm. The tips of the sticks are fitted with a brass or iron cap for their protection. The handle is somewhat thinner than the rest of the stick and enlarged at the end to form a knob which is covered with silver leaf. Below the

623 /175 cont./
293 handle an additional crescent-shaped piece of silver leaf is applied.

In former years, on the first day of the new year, a cere-
623 mony for the old as well as for the newly elected cabildo took
796 place on the not easily accessible lagoon of Juan Tama, the
778 Páramo de Moras, and lasted for several days. It started with
823 chicha drinking under the leadership of a shaman, after which the culture hero, Juan Tama, and the spirits of the ancestors (?) were asked by the shaman for advice and assistance in the coming year. A dance and a bath in the lagoon concluded the ceremony (Bürg, pp. 340 f.). According to my information, this gathering at the lagoon has not been carried out for several years. The reason given is that for several years in succession it has rained around
[787] New Year's time. After that the shamans announced that with this
[776] sign Juan Tama renounced any further performances of the ceremony on his lagoon.

623 The election of the cabildo is done by the men of the entire
666 village. The candidates must be citizens of the given village,
[641] that is to say, they must own land there. A stranger could never hold office in a Paez village. The candidates may not propose themselves, but must be nominated by the assembly or by the old cabildo. Anyone who is elected for an office by the village assembly for the first time may not refuse, but must accept it. Only re-election, which is possible up to five or ten years in succession, is voluntary. The wealth or possessions of the candidates do not play
[556] any role. The present gobernador, Marcelo Muse, is /176/ about 30 years old. Two children, a son about six years old and a four-year-old daughter, are living; four of his children died. In the way of material possessions he owns five horses and two pigs, but no cows and no sheep. Ten years ago he was fiscal for a year. In the general opinion of the Paez the gobernador should not be too young or too old. The best age is between 30 and 50 years. The remaining posts, which to a large extent consist of messenger services, are generally held by younger, unmarried people, although
[896] they may also be filled by married men up to 50 years of age. In general the gobernador chooses people who are loyal to him and who must also carry out the punishments for him, for a gobernador

/176 cont./

623 himself does not punish. For this purpose four representatives of
666 the lower offices have an official whip which consists of a rod ten
696 centimeters long, with a plaited strap about 80 centimeters long.

The election itself proceeds with the introduction of the candi-
623 dates by the capitan with the question: "This one as gobernador,
624 do you want him?" And they reply: "We wish it" or "we do not
666 wish it." It was interesting to observe how, after the death of the capitan, one of his relatives, Cerbelión Guagáz, tried to be named capitan. The priest, however, insisted on an election by the village. And although he tried very hard to have Cerbelión elected, the village kept refusing him because he was too autocratic and such people are not liked. Another whom everyone would like to have as capitan is himself unwilling. "As capitan I am only the beadle of the padre," he replied to my question as to why he did not accept the choice. And he had no desire for that. He had been comisario once and gobernador once, and now he wanted peace for the rest of his life.

2) Family Organization

594 The family of the Paez is basically the patrilineal nuclear family /Kleinfamilie/ consisting of the parents and unmarried
[513] children. The latter, while they are small, sleep with the parents in the kitchen; as soon as they are larger, in a compartment in
591 another part of the house. After marriage they erect their own house.
596 It is not uncommon, however, for the married sons to live with their wives for another year or two in the house of the father, until they have enough money for a house, which will be small at first. The daughters upon marriage leave /177/ the paternal home and then live with their husbands, that is to say, at first with the parents-in-law.

354 Normally, therefore, every house has only one cooking
596 place, in which the woman of the house cooks. If a son marries,
252 a new kitchen is partitioned off and a second place built for the
[462] fire at which the young wife cooks. As a matter of principle, each married couple -- and it alone -- has its own fire area, for the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook.

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the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook. Old, solitary persons or unmarried girls or men live with relatives or friends, but never alone, since a single person is unable either to protect himself or to provide for himself adequately.

The father's authority is great. Wife and children owe him absolute obedience. Nevertheless, the man does not have the right to alienate personal articles of members of the family or possessions that they made themselves. Thus, for example, he is not in a position to sell a coca bag or a fiber bag belonging to his wife or his children's toys.

The children are given the family name of the father, but the women keep their maiden names even after marriage. There is no external indication in dress or hair style or otherwise for unmarried girls and married women. The wife is obligated to work for her husband and children in her family. Beyond that she may procure personal belongings for herself by weaving cloth beyond the needs of her family, for example, and trading it for ornaments.

If the young people are still living in the house with their parents, the daughter-in-law is not absolutely subordinate to her mother-in-law, although this appears to be so, to judge from the speech at the wedding ceremony. A relationship of dependence is out of the question because of the separate kitchens. Usually, however, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms, and then it is not uncommon for only one woman to cook for both families, for there is no in-law avoidance. Then the two women share the work of cleaning the house.

Conjugal fidelity is demanded of both marriage partners; in the case of the man, however, it is sometimes not taken so seriously. If a man surprises his wife, however, or she her husband, in marital infidelity, the deceived party may beat (but not kill) both and report them to the cabildo, which again has the guilty party very soundly thrashed.

Illegitimate children are not rare among the Paez. In case an unmarried girl has a child, she is beaten by her parents and

848 /178/ the cabildo until she names the father of her child. If he
● 623 is an unmarried young man, he must marry the girl. A married man, however, is beaten by the cabildo. He does not need to make support payments. It is different if a married man has no
842 children. In this case the wife is regarded in principle as the one
848 at fault. He may then have a child by an unmarried girl without
837 being punished. He simply explains to the cabildo that he has a
[623] great deal of property and that he therefore needs children whom he cannot have by his wife. To the mother of his natural child he gives a cow, clothing, and a pretty belt, and she then surrenders her child to the lawful wife of the father of her child. He may
[554] do this several times until he has enough children. This is not permitted, however, for a poor man without possessions, it was explained to me, for "why does he need children?"

844 At the time of menstruation and also at the birth of a child
841 the woman stays in a special small hut (dúyat). She receives her
[343] food either from her mother, sister, or a neighbor woman from a house in which several women live. This woman at the same time cooks for the members of the family of the menstruating woman. The members of the family of the woman who is temporarily cooking receive their meals from another female member of her family. The woman who takes care of the food also fetches the wood for the fire necessary for warmth in the dúyat. Female inhabitants of farms or of field huts used for only a few months, which have no
[758] dúyat, go to a neighboring or related family for this period. In
[602] case the housewife becomes ill, she moves into the house of one of her sisters or female relatives, where she is nursed. The male relatives of the sick woman must then likewise go to the house of this relative to eat.

614 Besides the patrilineal nuclear families, no recognized patrilineal kin-groups /Sippen/ are known among the Paez, but all who bear the same family name feel related and may not marry, even though they are not knowingly -- this knowledge goes back only two generations -- related. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuẽ, for example, may not only not marry any girls with the patronymic Piñakuẽ, but also no girls whose mothers are named Piñakuẽ. Conditions are particularly difficult among the

1: Nachtigall--123 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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the city, even before reaching it, be devoured by a Pijao. Therefore, this has never been attempted by any girl. An example of the opposite is instructive in this connection. Our Colombian colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, who lived in the park of San Andrés with us and at the same time carried on his ethnological and sociological research in Calderas, had often mentioned, jokingly and in order to make himself popular, that he intended to look for a bride in Calderas. He was often seen with a pretty Calderun girl by the people in the village, as he conversed and went walking with her. One day when he presented her with a bottle of brandy, not knowing or not heeding the courtship custom connected with this, his joking was taken seriously and very much amiss. The girl was sentenced by the cabildo to severe corporal punishment and, after this was carried out, was married the next day to a young man of the village.

For the official offer of marriage, the father of the young man goes to the house of the girl's parents. He takes along a gourd calabash with about ten liters of chicha and five bottles of brandy. First he converses only casually with the entire family of the girl for half an hour, many jokes are made, and they talk about this and that. Then he asks the girl's father whether his daughter would not like to marry his son. The parents reply that they have only one daughter and that unfortunately they cannot give her away, since they themselves need her so much. Thereupon they converse further, talk about this and that, and then the father of the young man asks a second time whether the daughter of the house would not like to marry his son. But this time, too, the father of the girl replies that he has but one daughter and can unfortunately not give her away. Then they talk some more, until the guest asks a third time: "Can you not give me your daughter for my son?" The father of the girl then replies: "Very well, I shall give my daughter to your son, but I expect him always to treat her well and not to speak ill of her!" Then the guest hands over the bottles of brandy which he brought along, the first to the father of the bride, the second to the mother of the bride, then the third to the bride, and then a bottle each to her brothers and sisters. He gives all the chicha that he brought to the bride's

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581 around the hearth fire, and this must be stirred and provided with
462 wood every two hours. This is the task of the wife, who, there-
513 fore, sleeps next to the fire. Throughout practically her whole life, she is never able to sleep all through the night.

583 If during the trial year the bride does not meet the demands of the man, if she either cannot cook or is lazy or /193/ does not like to get up in the morning, he sends her back to her father. Since no wedding celebration has taken place, sending back the girl leads to no resentment of any kind. It does, however, if children have resulted from the trial marriage and the young man
[684] nevertheless changes his mind. In this case, to be sure, nothing
[623] can be changed with regard to his decision -- after all, he has not yet been officially married -- but, since such an action is condemned, he is beaten by the cabildo. He may then begin a
583 new trial marriage with another girl. The children of the previ-
848 ous trial marriage (they are designated by the Paez with the
[557] Spanish term hijo natural) are given the name of the mother. There are not a few such "natural children." The mothers, however, are not scorned or judged harshly on that account and do not by any means have poorer prospects for a subsequent marriage. The children are not adopted in case of a subsequent marriage by the
[761] mother and keep their mother's name. It is believed, however,
[851] that such "natural children" will soon die. They are not baptized, since the priest baptizes only legitimate children, or else demands such a large sum for the baptism of an illegitimate child that the unmarried mother cannot raise it.

585 The actual wedding celebration takes place after the period
[178] of the trial marriage. Today the prior marriage service by the Catholic priest in the church is usually combined with this wedding celebration. The money for this, as for the expenses of the wedding celebration, must be raised by the young man himself.
[435] This takes him many months. First of all, besides the cost of ten pesos for the marriage service, he must have collected the money for an ox, then prepare chicha in sufficient quantities, for which sugar cane is milled for about a month, and also provide for the rest of the food. In general his father or brothers do not

/212 cont./
guests. In case the deceased has neither sons nor brothers -- which scarcely ever happens, it is said -- the villager who takes care of the burial inherits his entire property. The widow moves in with one of her brothers or sisters or some other relative.

Disputes and misdemeanors, such as theft or adultery, are judged within the communities by the cabildo; murder or serious bodily injury, by the Colombian state judiciary. It was said that murder and manslaughter did not occur in former times, the old people told us; they are a consequence of "white" influences and the weakening of the cabildo. One can well understand this, for in Calderas where the village council still enjoys a certain amount of power and considerable prestige, it would be unthinkable for a son to stab his father to death. This happened in San Andrés where the cabildo exists only in the form of three functionaries who are basically powerless and without standing and where the young people, through the influences of the living conditions of the white colonists, no longer have any feeling for the old discipline and customs. It was in San Andrés in March, 1953, that the son of the capitan stabbed his father to death. The latter, after the death of his first wife, had married a second time, for which his children reproached him vehemently. In a drunken state, this led to a brawl, in the course of which the father struck off half of his son's right ear and the son killed his father with several knife stabs in the abdomen. After the deed, he fled; but since it was known that he could find shelter only with relatives, the /213/ gobernador of the town of Lame seized him a few days later in the house of his sister, where he had hidden. He was brought to San Andrés in chains and delivered over to the sindico, who was simultaneously occupying the position of gobernador. The latter, an older man of the age of the deceased capitan, tried for some time to reason with the murderer, who gave the impression of being uncommunicative and almost sullen; he pointed out to him the baseness of his deed, of patricide, and then he was led to the church in which the dead capitan was lying in state. The son resisted violently, but was forcibly led up to the corpse and broke down weeping before it. Before he was transferred

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682 to Inzá by two members of the cabildo of San Andrés, friends and
623 relatives, as well as members of his own family, slipped him a
182 few coins so that he would be able to buy himself food in prison. His guards did not prevent anyone from doing this, and in general the feeling for the murderer was commiserating, but not unfavorable.

623 The punishments inflicted in Calderas by the cabildo are al-
692 ways floggings. In earlier times they were very rigorously carried
[681] out. There is no imprisonment. Today the cabildo judges only
[697] social misdeeds, debtors, and the theft of field crops, a chicken, or a sheep. Horse and cattle theft goes to the court in Inzá for punishment. The injured one himself may not punish the malefactor -- not even if caught red-handed - but must report everything
[693] to the cabildo. There the capitan and gobernador are the judges.
[624] The other members of the cabildo must likewise be present, but they have no vote. The sentence is very quickly passed. The malefactor is locked into one of the two rooms of the community
623 house, and the trial takes place on the next day at the latest. The
685 punishments are fixed. They consist of lashes with the whip, which
692 are increased for repetition. Thus, the thief receives ten lashes the first time, 20 the second time, and 30 lashes the third time; in case of further lapses he is shackled in the tree trunk. The theft of a sheep is punished with ten lashes and the replacement or giving up of the stolen object. If the accused protests, a house search is carried out with a member of the cabildo. If nothing is found, he must be set free again.

426 Loans up to ten pesos are given without security; beyond that the creditor is given a cow, a horse, a pig, wheat, or sugar cane as security. Loans are given only up to a year, so that the matter is not forgotten. Interest is not charged. If the debtor is unable to pay, a definite term is /214/ set for him; if he does not pay then, the lapse is reported to the cabildo, which punishes the offender with the whip. Denial is useless, for every loan transaction is concluded only before witnesses. If the debtor dies, the claims of the creditor are taken from his estate, for example, a machete, coca bag, or clothing. One may also ask relatives, for example brothers, to settle the debt. They are not obliged to repay it,

/214 cont./

426 however, so that in the case of a deceased poor debtor, the creditor has usually lost his money. Prescription does not occur.
685 A debt forgotten by the debtor may be collected by the creditor
695 years later, if there are witnesses. The situation is similar for
426 the theft of field crops: If there is no witness, no one can be found guilty. If, however, the witness is known as honorable and not deceitful, the accused is judged guilty, even without a con-
692 fession. There is no statement of confirmation corresponding to
695 the oath; similarly, no one condemned for wrongdoing has the
623 right to go to Inzá to the judge. For all misdeeds punished by the
208 [782] cabildo, the capitan and gobernador are the first and last authority; they do not act arbitrarily, however, but rely largely on custom
[686] and the opinion of the village. This is especially true if someone refuses several times in succession to take part in public works, but it also comes out -- unfavorably -- if a poor man tries to
623 become wealthy on his own. For example, disputes not infrequently
692 break out among the Paez on account of damage to cultivated
685 fields when the domestic animals of one person have broken into
578 the fields of a neighbor. Now the fences around each field must always be in good condition and put up in accordance with the term of use of the field. A fence for a maize field, which requires barely a year to mature, may be more lightly built than a fence around a sugar-cane field, which requires three years to mature. Then when strange animals break into fields with good fencing, the owner may kill them or at least wound them, for example, by
[231] cutting off a cow's tail. The owners of pigs fasten a triangular-shaped frame around the necks of their pigs to prevent them from breaking into fenced fields. If the fence is in poor condition, however, and has not been newly erected especially for the planted field, the owner of the animals breaking into the field is not to blame and the owner of the field may not kill them. Of course, the soundness of a fence is to a great extent a matter of opinion, and it happens not infrequently that the disputants go after each
696 other with machetes and wound each other considerably. The
685 /215/ guilty party is then, after an inspection of the fence, punished
417
681

/215 cont./

696 according to the decision of the cabildo. First of all, the animal
685 or the crop destroyed must be replaced, and then the offender is
417 put in the "tree trunk." This is a form of punishment that was
681 formerly used very frequently in other Paez communities, too.
[824] Actually it consists of two tree trunks, into each of which two notches are chopped on opposing sides. The condemned person is put in, with his feet up to the ankles in these rather narrow notches, and then the tree trunks are tightly bound together with
[623] lianas. All the members of the cabildo take part in this work. Then the bound tree trunks are fastened to the ceiling of the council house, so that the condemned man hangs head downward and the trunks cut into his flesh very considerably. There were no other types of punishment. The degree was determined by the number of hours of hanging, which extended from one to, allegedly, 24 hours.

556 Injustices on the part of envious fellow-citizens toward a
626 man striving for wealth manifest themselves by their driving their animals into the man's well-fenced fields. This is done until the person in question no longer feels any inclination to excel over others
[623] through diligence and property. Little is accomplished by com-
[692] plaining to the cabildo, since the gobernador cannot make a de-
[208] cision that runs counter to the opinion of the entire village, and a weak spot in the fence can always be demonstrated somewhere.

692 Other and not infrequent occasions on which the cabildo must
623 act as judge are complaints concerning adultery and support (see
68 above). There are no complaints about verbal insults, just as there is no punishment for this. They are countered by matching expressions. Similarly, unintentional bodily injury, for example, by a machete during joint work or a case of death during tree-cutting, is not punishable. Only if a person shoots his neighbor's eye out with an elastic sling during bird hunting would he be punished, "but not very severely."

/258 cont./

754 Afterward his throat began to dry out and he could breathe only with difficulty, until he finally died.

754 The evil shamans are not generally known publicly. Men
756 as well as women, however, may be teyu and nyic. In fact, the
[562] most famous and clever teyu whom we met was an old woman,
[753] Felisa Ipia in Santa Rosa, who at the same time, however, is re-
[623] garded as the most evil sorceress who ever existed. All the sick-
[683] ness and misfortune in Santa Rosa are ascribed to her acts. For this reason the cabildo once burned all her medicinal herbs and broke her shaman's staff. But people no longer dare to undertake anything serious against her, since they fear her, as they do all evil sorcerers. In former times the convicted nyic were always very severely punished, but since many members of the cabildo have died as a result of sorcery, no one any longer dares to accuse the well-known nyic today.

754 /259/ With regard to the problem of male and female shamans,
756 a teyu from Calderas explained that women as such had an excellent
562 sense of feeling and therefore the best talent as shamans. Since they are more crafty and cunning than men, however, the female shamans can transform themselves into an evil sorceress at any time. And that is precisely what makes them so dangerous and hence unfit for the calling of a good shaman.

754 The border between teyu and nyic, therefore, is flexible.
756 Both aspects of shamanism may be united in one person, or a teyu may become a nyic and vice versa. In the following, therefore, the teyu form of manifestation of shamanism will be described. In spirit the nyic are based on the same foundation. They never show their herbs and remedies and allow no one to take part in
[124] their ceremonies. The teyu, on the other hand, on closer acquaintance were quite willing to give information about their knowledge and to let us take part in their séances.

/268 cont./

756 without leaving a trace. In vain the father tried to find out where
773 he was staying. After eight days, however, the son again appeared in the hut. He said that he had been with his grandfather, who had given him brandy, medicines, and this staff that he held in his hand and that was called tama. The "brandy" was cold water from a lake, and the medicines in the fiber bag were mountain herbs. After he had said this, he fell into a trance and lay there as though dead. Fourteen days later, as he lay dying, he asked his father to hand him his tama, for Thunder had told him that he could defend himself with it and that, in case of illness, he should take the medicines that he had given him. He squeezed /269/ out the juice and drank it. Quickly he became well. When he gave it to other sick persons, they, too, became well immediately. With his staff and his medicines he became the best doctor far and wide. He died at an advanced age.

775 Another shaman said that the tama stems from a lifesaving
773 act of the Holy Virgin Mary. Once when the sea rose constantly
177 higher and had covered almost the entire earth, human beings were in great danger. The Virgin Mary took pity on them. She drew forth the tama and with it made the same motions that the shamans make with it today. The masses of water then receded. She left her staff behind for the person who became a shaman. This is supposed to be the origin of the tama.

Although in the latter story not only the figure of the Virgin Mary, but possibly also the motif of the Deluge did not originate in the thought of the Paez, nevertheless the origin of the tama as
756 a gift from a higher power is noteworthy. This power, which,
776 for the shamans, is of the greatest significance as a spirit being
787 and as the first shaman, is Thunder. According to reports, he also positively has the character of an assistant spirit, even though he is almost only feared by the present-day shamans. "The old shamans," the present ones constantly assert, "were still powerful enough magically to establish communication with Thunder directly and at any time; we today are no longer able
778 to do it." In former times the members of the cabildo, under the
756 guidance of a shaman, bathed together in the lagoon of Juan Tama
● 623

/269 cont./

778 and had their staff of office consecrated there. Today this no
756 longer takes place because of the lack of good shamans. The
623 shamans of today no longer have the intense visions that the
[787] earlier ones had, and that is why they are no longer so powerful magically. They are no longer able to speak with Thunder as simply as their predecessors did, and since they are weaker, it is believed that Thunder will kill them.

776 Thunder is generally described as small of stature and dressed like a Paez man with hat and black ruana. It is reported that he does not wear trousers, but exposes his sexual parts. He has with
[534] him, like a shaman, his tama, a fiber bag with medicines, and a
[532] musical instrument called "tíngalo" (triangle). It is not impossible that it is his picture, together with a Christian cross, that is incised in the gable post of a hut in the vicinity of the park of San Andrés, which represents a man with large, triangular-shaped sexual parts (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /).

[756] /270/ Thunder is regarded by all the Paez as the greatest
[773] shaman and by the teyu as their master. In the folklore (see below /see pp. 215 ff./), he probably often has different names, such as Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, Juan Chiracol, but his characteristics stand out in them, no matter whether as sat (cacique) he is fighting the Pijao and defending his people, or that he will one day -- people are convinced -- again drive the hated whites
776 out of Tierradentro. He warns the Paez of an evil white person
821 who is coming to Tierradentro for a visit by a clap of thunder from
[783] a clear sky. When he thunders above a particular house, he is
[754] announcing that there is "pest" in it, and if he thunders first above the house of a nyic and then above one belonging to a teyu he is thereby announcing to a good shaman that he has just been bewitched.

776 A few stories also tell about the struggles of the shamans
787 against Thunder, for he once robbed the Paez of livestock and
756 people. But that was long ago, for today no one would dare undertake anything against Thunder. The Calderun shamans tell how the earlier teyu were in a position to speak with Thunder at any time and to get advice from him. Those of today are no

/191 cont./

829 665 while the others contend for their land and reduce the extent of the parcialidad. This is what the people of Avirama, Togoima, and Lame have done. Nowadays, their relations appear to be cordial, for their political differences, at least, seem to have been obliterated.

157 The Paez are extremely pugnacious, aggressive by nature; they are easily aroused and only with difficulty erase rancor from their minds. Their psychological characteristic seems [648] to be the explosion. History gives many authentic proofs. [669] Adverse to the Spanish yoke, destroyers of the colonial settlements, /192/ in the times of the republic they have served as instruments for blind ambitions and political revenge, and nearly all the civil uprisings have been nourished with their blood. They adjust easily to the military, guerilla, barbarian [579] spirit. The riots that have taken place in the present century are memorable: La Quintinada, La Collada, and the 28th of January, the first of which took place in 1916, the second in 1932, and the third in 1950, out of motives of racism, religion, and political rancor, respectively.

Persistence in vengeance, hair-raising and fearsome crimes, and the spilling of blood characterize many aspects of the social and political life of these Indians.

## VI

### Fiesteros, Albaceros, and Mayordomos

796 ●623 About three months before the celebration of the fiesta, the cabildo begins to select the names of the fiesteros /fiesta leaders/ for the following year. When the candidates have been chosen, the entire cabildo goes to their home, where after much dilatory chatting they announce the authorized choice. The offer is rejected at first, but eventually the great honor is accepted.

/223 cont./

members of his family and under the direction of his teacher. The demand for his services on the part of others depends on the outcome of these treatments. Many of the young curers of Togoima, Calderas, and Santa Rosa learned in this manner. All of them state that their teachers had visions, and explicitly or implicitly admit their inferiority to them. "The ancestors had visions, and for this reason they must have been superior to us," says a curer from Calderas. Owing to this fact, people believe that the curers of today cannot talk to Thunder. They would be killed. One of the reasons given to explain why the cabildos /local councils/ of today do not go to the lagoon to wash the staffs of command is precisely the lack of curers like those of old.

Those who have had visions also place themselves under the direction of an experienced curer in order to learn the secrets of the profession. The definitive consecration as a curer is obtained when they offer the "Camarico" /a gift customarily given to guests/ to Thunder at the edge of the lagoon.

Although an apprenticeship in medicine can be undertaken at a very early age, the practice requires one to be an adult of about 30 years of age and married or living with a woman. A "very young" curer would lie, informants say.

Consecration of the te eu. The true té eu, that is to say, those who have had visions, make the offering of the "Camarico /224/ to Thunder," a ceremony carried out at the edge of a lagoon, in order to be consecrated definitively as curers, since medicine is a heritage from Thunder.

The teacher asks the pupil for a white sheep and two new pouches. The animal is sacrificed, and from each organ on the left side a small piece is cut and placed in the pouch. This is the "Camarico for Thunder." With this gift, teacher and pupil set out for the lagoon, while at home the women cook the meat with the express order that no one may eat it until they return.

/255 cont./

754 It is said that one who is to become a sorcerer does not need a teacher; he will discover the remedies and the evil spirits. Nevertheless, in the Parcialidad of Santa Rosa it is said that the most dangerous sorceress in the place teaches people how to do witchcraft.

754 The té eu can easily become sorcerers, if they show in-
*756 terest in becoming familiar with their remedies. A sorcerer can be a good curer and cure people, but nevertheless he will demand better provisions.

754 As a rule, it is unusual for a té eu to be universally
*[756] acknowledged as such, for many people, and the sorcerers among them, commonly designate them as nasa jihi (evil person).

[787] They may have the visions from a very early age, but the practice of sorcery begins in adulthood and is perfected with maturity. The sorcerers who are publicly acknowledged are about 35 years old, most of them being elders.

/256/ Sorcerers never show their remedies; much less is it possible to attend one of their sessions. This is a concealed activity. One knows who the sorcerers are by public identifi-
[124] cation. All the information obtained about them is provided by the people and sometimes by the curer himself. Neverthe-
[156] less, none of them confesses practicing this activity; rather, on the contrary, they protest their innocence and claim to be the best persons in the community.

●[623] The remedies that the sorcerers possess are said to be well
[692] hidden, for if the cabildo were to find them, they would punish them irremediably.

[513] The sorcerers cast their spells at night. The natives say that they do not sleep. No sooner has night fallen than they are chewing coca and tobacco. They sleep during the day. They prefer the dark of night for performing their activities, although they do not have special days or specific hours.

The sorcerers do not introduce objects into the body (toads, hair, etc.), nor can they turn into animals.

/257 cont./

754 554 152 598 A curer from Santa Rosa, while taking a spell off a sick person, explained that this man owned much land and that they had cast a spell upon him in order to appropriate it.

In Calderas a man who can read, write, and make memorials for the Alcaldía of Inzá, a maker of fireworks, builder of houses, and good farmer, was naturally the cause of envy. A sorcerer wanted to kill him. He called his soul while he was asleep. But the one called was aided by the soul of his brother, who blew mambe toward him. On the following day his left eye became white and was on the point of dropping out. A curer was able to cure him, but he remained one-eyed. The two brothers remained enemies of the sorcerer.

754 613 623 On another occasion and in the same parcialidad, two brothers gave a sorcerer a beating. In revenge he cast a spell on both within a year. Fearful of punishment, the sorcerer went to other parcialidades, but on his return the cabildo put him in the stocks.

In the old days -- says a curer from Santa Rosa -- the cabildos punished the sorcerers. Those of today are afraid of them. The elders /mayores/ have died bewitched. Actually, the Indians refuse to serve on the cabildo or to accept the post of capitán for fear of the sorcerers.

754 685 The sorcerers are all thieves. They often steal under the very eyes of the owner, who, fearful that they will cast a spell upon him, does not make the slightest protest. But the sorcerers, in turn, fearful that he might complain to the white authorities, cast a spell upon him.

754 In Calderas, those who purchase livestock to expand their small hacienda have been attacked by sorcery.

754 177 554 The Indian who has lived with the whites, who has adopted their clothing, their dietary habits, and their agricultural and cattle-raising techniques, /258/ and who has given up the habit of consuming coca and chicha is not only the victim of magical attacks, but is the direct recipient of offensive words and deeds.

/261 cont./

683 The aversion that the people of Santa Rosa have for the
554 sorceress Ipia is expressed clearly in the words of one té eu:
754 "This old woman should be brought to the pueblo, her remedies burned, she should be bathed in ají water, manacled, and kept like this overnight to prevent her from running away, bathing with her remedies, and turning back into a sorceress."

683 In this same parcialidad the sorcerers accused of having
● [623] killed the former gobernador with their tricks were given the following punishment by the Cabildo.

The sorcerers, taken from their houses with all their pouches of remedies, were led to the pueblo. In the plaza and in the presence of the people, the capitán took from the pouches remedy after remedy, showing it to the public and asking about its uses. The remedies were unknown in most cases and the sorcerers gave no information about them. They made a large pile. The gobernador of the cabildo says that they even had earth from the cemetery. He sprinkled the remedies with gasoline, put the sorcerers in the middle, and lighted the fire. The frightened sorcerers begged for forgiveness, claiming that they were innocent.

It is said that in the pouches they found flowers of sulphur, with which they /262/ prepared a drink that they forced them to take in order to rid them of evil spirits. The sorcerers, on their part, say that the drink in question was a mixture of the excrements of domestic animals and human feces.

The sorcerers had to remain at the wake overnight and dig part of the grave. After the burial they were invited to the meal which is offered on such occasions, an invitation which they refused, but they were forced to attend. With the food it is said that they were given pubic hair, according to the sorcerers. Then the people tossed them into a pond.

683 In Calderas the punishments are more violent. In 1951,
184 they took a sorcerer, put him in the stocks for two days, forced him to take the drink of excrements, whipped him,

/309 cont./

685 The natives do not steal maize. If they need some, they
243 buy it from their neighbor. Such transactions are made at very
[432] low prices. If someone refuses to sell, that is to say, "is stingy
[623] with maize," the buyer threatens to rob him, although he never
[692] does it if he is a good person, but will if he is bad (sorcerer). Such thefts are punished by the cabildo.

243 When the ear of maize is filled out and tender (choclo /a
[789] roasting ear/) consumption begins, after the performance of magical practices if the produce is from a new clearing (14).

14. Ibid., p. 246.

Consumption begins at the outer part and all around the field, leaving the central part to turn into dry maize. If someone picks maize from just any part, people comment acidly that he "eats like a dog." The harvesting of the maize is done in one or two days. Relatives and friends are invited to help
[476] and are rewarded with approximately one arroba. The same
[465] amount is also given to those who helped disinterestedly with the clearing and sowing.

243 /310/ An informant from Mosoco says that it is customary
431 among the natives to present relatives and friends with a "carrera" /stretch, row/ of each harvest. Those of wheat and barley are excepted. The carrera consists in harvesting all the "matas" /bushes, sprigs/ that remain around the plantings, since, as we have seen, the harvesting is done from the periphery to the center. The beneficiaries in turn do the same, so that the amounts received are reciprocally returned. This favor to relatives and friends carries with it implicit factors of understanding and affection, for not all receive this manifestation of esteem.
243 The same informant says that the consumption of roasting ears
574 begins with what is called "cura de la labranza" /treatment of the field/, which consists of the following: The owner invites his relatives and friends to a kind of banquet with an abundance of tender-maize cakes /bollos/ or tamales /envueltos/, chicken, and other select dishes.

/335 cont./

423 land. On it usually stand the native pueblos, and from it the
623 municipal councils have set aside the so-called settlement areas,
648 into which, since they belong to the municipio, "white" penetration has been possible.

423 Private ownership of land is acquired essentially through
425 adjudication, through work, and through inheritance. It may also be acquired through gift or sale, but this is quite rare.

423 Since the true owner of the protected lands is the cabildo,
425 it is this institution that distributes the lands to each member
623 of the community. The titles that it grants are called adjudications. The condition for enjoying possession of a specific parcel is residence in the community and, above all, work. In the case where an individual has idle lands because he cannot manage to work them, the cabildo reserves the right to take this part away from him in order to give it to someone who needs it. Those who through special circumstances live elsewhere, outside of the parcialidad, lose their right to possession of the land.

423 Although it is true that in the distribution of land made by
425 the cabildo it venerates, respects, and is guided by the laws of
623 justice, it is also true that they are not exempt from committing
662 unjust acts. If a member of the community can advantageously entertain and show courtesies to the members of the cabildo and is interested in acquiring more land, he can obtain it in this way. It is relatively easy to suborn the cabildo. Then the cabildo can wrong some in order to benefit others. But this defect may be corrected with the selection of men who can fulfill their functions as members of the cabildo competently and with the exercise of sound directive policies on the part of the municipal executive.

423 Now then. It is also true that some natives have more
623 land than others. But this is due to the fact that their respective
421 ancestors cleared more forest than others. They colonized more land. Their right of ownership is granted through labor. "The ancestors" -- says a Calderun informant -- "worked the montaña and this is why we have land. This land does not belong to the cabildo." This procedure is still followed in the parcialidades where there is still uncultivated land. /336/ The cabildo has

/336 cont./

423 623 428 no rights over land won by the sweat of the brow. It is inherited directly by the sons. In such cases the cabildo confirms ownership by issuing the respective adjudication.

423 578 When the colonization has been done by several persons, usually brothers, and the division of the land does not satisfy one of the parties, famous litigations take place that eat up the small savings of the families. The feeling for ownership of land is highly developed among the natives, and the usurpation of the slightest piece of ground gives rise to quarrels, enmities, and litigations. The sale of land to "whites" is prohibited by Colombian law and by the consuetudinary law of the natives. But among the natives themselves transactions can be made with immovables. They do not sell the land, but the ownership. The owner of land is the man. A widow, too, can be an owner by inheritance from the husband. Single women do not own land.

42 [648]

422 [428] The bovine, equine, porcine, and wool-bearing livestock belong to the man, although a few women own pigs and sheep. Turkeys, chickens, cats, and guinea pigs belong to the women, and so do dishes, spoons, pots, grinding stones, calabashes, and bags. These are inherited through the female line. Children are owners merely of their own clothes.

423 [794] Concerning communal property, we have already seen that in each parcialidad there are several hectares of land that belong to all the members of the parcialidad. Also regarded as communal property are public works, such as roads, bridges, the main ditches, the house of the cabildo, and the church, and they collectively maintain them; likewise regarded as the property of the parcialidad are the sums of money collected for the church, the produce of the clearing of the saint, and any livestock or mills that it might own.

428 [842] Concerning inheritance, let us look first at the concepts expressed by an informant from Calderas. Asked about the ideal number of children for native families, he replied that everyone wished to have many children. "When one dies and one has land, who can handle it? The ancestors worked the montaña, and this is why we have land. We are five brothers and we work

6: Bernal Villa- 107 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro XIII: Gobernador of the parcialidad of San Andrés, with his staff of command and a machete at his belt.

?:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17



in which a Spaniard held a territory occupied by Indians. The natives, under a chief who was protected by the White authorities and who made contact between the master, or encomendero, and his subjects, had to give a certain number of days' work and a specified tribute in products of the lands, animals, gold, or manufactures. The encomiendas made no effort to Hispanicize the Indians, but continued to loot and massacre them. The Indians, reduced to utter misery, gave up all their artistic and industrial activities, and devoted the greater part of their time to the service of the master or to seeking products to pay the obligatory tribute. To remedy this situation, the Spanish Crown decreed the native "parcialidad," giving surviving groups reservations and prohibiting their employment in transporting men and goods over the highways. This reform was never entirely carried out, however, and the Indians, in spite of having their own government, the cabildo or Indian council, continued in servitude or debt slavery.

The native Indian government consisted generally of a governor, a first mayor (alcalde mayor), a second mayor (alcalde segundo), a trustee (sindico or fiscal), and constables (alguaciles), the last a kind of police who transmitted to the people the orders which the Whites gave through the governors or mayors, and who carried out penalties of imprisonment, of placing in stocks, and whipping, which the first Spaniards introduced into the punishment of the natives. At the same time, the Christianization of the Indians began. It succeeded in an imperfect way, however, for the Indian attended Masses, arranged and participated in processions, and did not miss the solemn ceremonies a single Sunday largely because on the same day he brought his own products to the pueblo for sale, bought salt or meat which he needed, and devoted himself to drinking chicha, the traditional drink which he had always taken on religious or social occasions.

The Indians of Nariño, descendants of the *Pasto*, lost their language and many of their customs during the Colonial Period, although they continued to live as natives on their reservations, which daily became smaller because of the encroachments by the neighboring Whites or Mestizos. They became farmers with small landholdings and, occasionally, masons in the cities. The *Moguez* and *Páez*, however, retained their language and the greater part of their customs. Some of them, especially the men who had to deal with the Whites, learned a little Spanish, and they continued throughout the Colonial Period to defend their lands and their traditions. To religious practices introduced by the missionaries, they added such elements as the offer of food to the souls of the dead. They added to the Colonial council (cabildo) the office of captain, an official who, unlike the rest of the council, was not responsible to civilian authorities but had life tenure, sometimes a hereditary position, and more authority within the group.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex



631 list presented by a council composed of former governors, the cap-
666 tain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but gen-
[651] erally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs, their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities. The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors (alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fiscales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are something like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Governor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community through the Governor.

423 Property.—The Indians today do not own any real property in the usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted
[651] to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable
[554] of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

422 The house was formerly typical personal or movable property, which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property.
[764] Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adorn-
[428] ments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things
[177] and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is
[692] being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the
[623] cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained
[681] from Colonial times.

Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of
691 limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still liti-
648 gations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the
[423] Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex



Castillo mentions that they won— 175

shiped the sun, in whose honor they met and danced in places called "Itaqui-finó," i. e., the place where the sun revealed its mysteries; and that they venerated a kind of culture hero called Guequiau. It was he who instructed shamans (mohanes). [156]

This hero has a counterpart in the religious legend of Juan Tama, the Son of the Star. One day when the Morning Star shone very brightly, some Indians found a child in a gorge—ever since called the Gorge of the Star. This was Juan Tama. They picked him up and entrusted him to a woman to nurse, but he nursed so much that her milk dried up. He was given to another woman, whom he also made very weak. They then said that he could not be nursed by a woman, and gave him food. After he grew up, he married the female chief of Huila, Doña María Mendiguagua, and became chief of all the Indians. He instructed people and explained to them how to keep the land for themselves and not mix with White people. He pronounced them invincible and summoned a chief from Pitayó, called Calambás, whom he appointed his manager. Calambás rebelled,[12] but was defeated by Juan Tama, who pardoned him on account of his bravery, and conferred on him and his heirs the right to rule the *Pdez* in Bitoncó. As death approached, Juan Tama went to the lake on the páramo of Moras and sank into the waters. He had come out of this place and returned to it, leaving no heirs.[13]

In the neighborhood of Bitoncó there is a rock with what appears to be human footprints. When the Indians pass it, they uncover their heads and say, "The Holy One came this way." Another remnant of the cult of Juan Tama is the custom that each member of the council spends one week at the shores of the lake before the end of his term to render an account to Juan Tama of his actions in office. Likewise, newly elected officers, as soon as they receive their staffs or insignia of authority, spend a week at the lake. They toss silver coins into it, wash their staffs, and pray for strength to rule well. This ceremony, performed with the greatest secrecy, is called the "curing of the staffs." Recently, however, the Indians have stopped "curing" their staffs in the lake, for they say that Juan Tama is angry, and whenever they approach the lake, it rains and storms badly.

In the Guanacas section there was another sacred lagoon, called Tumbachí, which was recently drained because a snake that lived there attracted girls and kept them for a whole year, and then returned them when they were about to become mothers.

These tribes believed that the soul comes back to life.

Witchcraft was strongly developed among these Indians, who still believe in most of its practices, in spite of the catechization forced upon them by the missionaries.

[12] During the War of Independence, as well as in subsequent revolutions, the Indians of the family named Calambás distinguished themselves as warriors.

[13] We are indebted to Father David González for this legend, told to him by an old Indian in Lame.

776 823 [623] [621] [631] [821] 775 754 177 [69] [114]

/184 cont./

stereotyped conduct. It should nevertheless be stated that the present-day Páez surnames were still given names in the eighteenth century, chosen capriciously by the mother and not transmissible to the descendants (14). The adoption of surnames and

14. Castillo y Orozco, E. de., op. cit., p. 75.

their heritability through the paternal line is the result of the doctrinal work of the Catholic missionaries, and their assimilation and integration into Páez culture must have been carried out in accordance with certain aspects of a sociological nature existing previously. The same /an unpaginated genealogical chart appears here/ /185/ present-day monogamy of the Páez appears to be the result of a strong Catholic Christian influence, since in pre-Colombian times they were polygamous (15).

15. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," 1946, p. 948.

The supreme authority in the nuclear family rests with the father; when he is missing, with the mother; and, when both are missing, with the most intelligent of the group. The husband orders, the woman only asks. The woman is always under the control of the man: the father, the brother, the husband. She has no liberty of movement. The cabildo has authority over orphaned women, including that of having them marry. One of our informants in Calderas was a fatherless orphan and had been brought up in Avirama in the company of her stepfather. Being of age, an Aviramẽño asked for her in marriage, but the cabildo of Calderas stopped the marriage, brought her back to the parcialidad, made her spend the night in the quarters of the cabildo, and on the following day made her marry a lad of 14 whom she did not know. Since she resisted, they beat her, admonishing her at the same time that if she did not do it, she would be married to a black dog in the future life. "There being

[text continues on p. 33]

/185 cont./

623 736 562 583 no other solution, I had to marry, "reflected the informant," for such was the law. The cabildo finds husbands for female orphans (guaiches). Any youth could ask the cabildo for an orphan for a wife and it would give her."

593 [586] The husband may punish his wife. We were able to observe the case of a native Calderuno who with tears in his eyes asked for the help of the priest to get back his wife who had abandoned him because he had given her some blows with the flat of a machete, injuring her. The complaining husband explained that the maltreatment given to his wife had not been of any importance, and, anyway, she had cost him twelve pesos, meaning by this the amount paid to the priest to celebrate the nuptials. They punish the wife when on returning from work they find her drunk and without food prepared for eating. Likewise they whip her or cuff her in cases of infidelity. Absolute fidelity is demanded from both spouses, and transgressions from this standard seem to be infrequent.

593 623 684 692 Such cases as present themselves are settled by the cabildo, as we were able to observe in Mosoco, where a husband, through the suggestion of his own mother, accused his wife of infidelity. The cabildo /186/ in session went to the house of the plaintiff to establish responsibility in the presence of the interested parties. According to an informant from Calderas, when a married man has a child by an unmarried girl, his wife complains before the cabildo. If it finds the girl guilty, it punishes her with lashes and authorizes the complainant to cut the hair of her rival. [848] The child born in this way, said the informant, dies of the plague. [753] Cases of infidelity on the part of the husband a number of times arouse violent reactions on the part of the wife, up to the point of liquidating her rival in a barbarous and merciless manner, as occurred in San Andrés where out of jealousy a woman practically quartered the body of the other woman, and whose penal judgment was given in the city of Popayán not many months ago.

/187 cont./

593 and de facto (with a machete) aggression of a married son (23 years old) against his parents, and the situation calmed down when the father succeeded in disarming the aggressor.

Brothers and sisters respect each other. They avoid aggression, and when they are little they play together. The younger brothers greet the older ones, and when the latter marry, they receive, kneeling, the blessing of the former.

[241] The fruits of the harvests are shared among the brothers,
[476] just as they also mutually help one another in the arduous agricultural work. According to an informant, men care more for their brothers than for their sisters, because the latter, upon marrying, leave the home. Nevertheless they show affection in their conduct with both sexes. Relations between sisters and the mother are intimate, as they live together under the same
[855] roof and intermingle in performing the same work. The older ones help to bring up the younger brothers and sisters. The latter call the eldest brother and eldest sister táta and máma,
[627] names that they abandon when they have reached adulthood. In case of a fight involving one of the brothers, the others go to his assistance and take vengeance if anyone has been injured,
[623] but this is not an obligation. Quarrels between brothers may
[892] arise over the distribution of land. In the greater number of such cases the cabildo settles the differences.

602 Relations between the families united among themselves by blood ties are intimate. They visit one another frequently and are shown painstaking treatment.

593 Mingas[1] are organized more readily among brothers, who
[476] "cover up their poverty." In the religious festivals they mutually
[651] back one another and during occasional meetings they endeavor
[796] to drink and eat together.

1/ [i.e., meetings for collective work--Analyst]